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ABSTRACT

There are many reasons for the large number of abandoned children in India. The children can be unwanted (mostly girls), illegitimate, or orphans due to diseases. The children have to be taken care of one way or the other. This study shows that there are different solutions to this problem, including orphanages both government and nongovernmental. Not all orphaned or abandoned children live in orphanages; many live in the streets. To reach the street children is not easy but it can be done employing the Ruchika model (e.g., starting railway platform schools, non-formal education centers, and day care centers). Some children are adopted from the orphanages; in-country adoption seems to be the best. The most successful orphanages visited were the SOS villages and the Shelter in Cuttack. However, the SOS villages refused to take care of handicapped children and the Shelter took care only of Christian children. More institutions are needed where the children can lead worthwhile lives and become educated so they can support themselves later in life. What has to be changed is society's attitude toward children growing up in the institutions. Until these goals are reached there will always be people living under harsh conditions. (Author/LBG)

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A STUDY ON INDIAN DESTITUTES

Aspects of the lives of destitute children and women in Orissa, India

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SO 023 114

November 1992

CMS REPORT NO. 29
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A STUDY ON INDIAN DESTITUTES

Aspects of the lives of destitute children and women in Orissa, India

Karin Hagman
Nina Karlsson

Hagman, K. & Karlsson, N. A study on Indian destitutes: Aspects of the lives of destitute children and women in Orissa, India. *Reprints and Miniprints* (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 759, 1992.

There are many reasons for the large number of abandoned children in India. The children can be unwanted, mostly girls, illegitimate (i.e. born of unmarried mothers), or they may be orphans due to diseases etc. These have to be taken care of in one way or the other.

Our study shows that there are different solutions to this problem, e.g. orphanages sponsored by the Government and non-governmental ones. Not all abandoned or orphaned children live in orphanages, many live in the streets. To reach these street children is not easy but it can be done e.g. with the Ruchika-model. Some children get adopted from the orphanages, in-country adoptions is probably the best.

The most successful of the orphanages that we visited were the SOS-villages and the Shelter in Cuttack. But, the SOS-villages refused to take care of handicapped children and the Shelter took care only of Christian children.

Again, what is needed is more institutions and devoted workers where the infants can lead a worthwhile life and get an education so they can earn their own living later on.

What has to be changed is society's attitude to children growing up in these institutions. Before these goals are reached there will always be people living under hard conditions.

Keywords: Adopted children, battered women, child neglect, children, disadvantaged youth, feminism, India, non-traditional schools, nursing homes, orphanages, slum schools.

PREFACE

During four weeks in November and December 1991 we stayed in Bhubaneswar, Orissa to carry out our Minor Field Study for SIDA. We had our base in Bhubaneswar and made short excursions to Puri, Cuttack and Ganjam.

Most of our observations are based on interviews with staff at orphanages, children, teachers, social workers, and staff at the Government of Orissa. We could not communicate with everybody in English, and found a great help in our Indian guide Subash Paul, who translated from Oriya and Hindi to English for us. Subash Paul also helped us in the difficult work of finding orphanages and persons of interest to meet.

We also want to thank Nanny Hartsmar and Gudrun Ekstrand at Malmö School of Education for helping us with the report, and thank you Patricia Wetterberg at the English Department, University of Lund for correcting our manuscripts.

A special thanks to all the Indian women that we met, who made us feel welcome with their generosity and curiosity.

Nina is the main author of the following chapters: 4,5,6 and 7, and Karin of the rest: 2 and 3.

Karin Hagman and Nina Karlsson
Malmö, November 1992

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INTRODUCTION

Everybody knows there is a huge number of orphans in India. We wanted to know why and what happened to them when they grew up.

Our interest for the orphans in India has its origin in a discussion with a young Swedish woman who was adopted from India as a baby. What would her life be like today if she had not been adopted in Sweden?

These are the questions that our study is based on:

* Why have the children become orphans?
* How are the orphans taken care of?
* Do they get any educaton?
* Are there any alternatives?
* Who pays for their upbringing?
* What kind of life can they lead as grown-ups?
* Are there any differences between orphan boys' and girls' lives and future?
* What does the Government do?

1 INDIA IN A NUTSHELL

India is a very large country, about seven times as big as Sweden.

This vast country has 830 million inhabitants (1989). The majority (60%) of the population work in the agricultural sector which is the dominating sector in India's economy.

The welfare is unequally distributed, both socially and geographically, and more than 300 million people live below the poverty line. Only 43% of the Indians are able to read and write.

India is a country where religion is a part of daily life. Most people are Hindus (83%) but one can also find Muslims (11%), Christians (3%), Sikhs (2%) and other religions.

The state we visited, Orissa, is situated in the north-east of India and the population there is 26.3 million (1981). Our study is based on the situation in Bhubaneswar, which is the capital of Orissa.

India has approximately 200 different languages; the language spoken in Orissa is called Oriya. The official languages in India are Hindi and English. (*Länder i fickformat*, 1990)

INDIA

China
Pakistan
Nepal
Bhutan
Bangladesh
Burma
DELHI
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
MADRAS
BHUBANESWAR
Sri Lanka
0 200 400 600 800 1000
km
1 Andhra Pradesh
2 Assam
3 Bihar
4 Gujarat
5 Haryana
6 Himachal Pradesh
7 Jammu och Kashmir
8 Karnataka (Mysore)
9 Kerala
10 Madhya Pradesh
11 Maharashtra
12 Manipur
13 Meghalaya
14 Nagaland
15 Orissa
16 Punjab
17 Rajasthan
18 Sikkim
19 Tamil Nadu
20 Tripura
21 Uttar Pradesh
22 Västbengalen
Arunachal Pradesh

2 THE UNWANTED SEX

"When a child is born and it is a boy, everybody is happy and congratulates the parents. But if it is a girl, everybody cries."

Indian woman

Why are the girls so unwanted? How can a boy be worth more than a girl? Do we not need both sexes? There are many reasons: tradition, religion, economic factors. Today the economic factor probably is the most important. A girl costs a lot of money since she has to have a good dowry to get a good husband. This is most common in the middle classes, in the very, very poor families they do not have any money at all for a dowry. And it does not really bother many of the very rich families because they have the money. Of course many rich people strongly object to this unfair system, but it is difficult to change old traditions.

Pupils in the schools are mostly boys, because they are worth educating. Why should a girl need to know how to read and write? She is better needed at home where she can take care of her younger sisters and brothers when her mother is at work.

In the orphanages boys are more rare than girls. Not so many boys are abandoned, and if they come to an orphanage some childless couple will surely adopt them.

Indians pay more attention to their sons, they get more clothes and things, they get education. During all meals at home, the boys are served first, then the girls get their share, if there is anything left. The mother eats when everybody else has finished. This is an unwritten rule in many Indian families. Indians are often very traditional. Many people like things to stay the way they have always been.

To have many sons means that the future is secured. The sons will support their parents when they get old. Many children die before they grow up, this is also a reason to have many children. In 1990 the infant

mortality in India was 95 per 1000 (ASIA 1991).

It is well-known that more boys than girls survive their first years. Baby girls are sometimes killed by their parents, because they can not take care of one more girl, or they just abandon the newborn girl outside town, leave it to die. Maybe someone will find it and take it to an orphanage. But this is not the only reason why so many die early. Baby boys get more attention and better nutrition, they become stronger and more resistant to deseases.

It says in the holy Hindu scriptures that a woman is inferior to a man:

> "To a woman there is no other god on earth than her husband. [---] Whether he lives in sin with other women, if he behaves like a madman, whether he is blind or death and dumb, a wife shall look up to him as a god and give him all her attention and care."(Parikh, Pulin 1989)

Child marriages used to be very common although they were prohibited as early as 1935. The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 1978, raised the age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18 and for boys from 18 to 21. A big problem with the child marriages was that they created a lot of *child widows*. The two families involved decided already when the children were 5-6 years old that their son and daughter should marry, and completed the ceremony. But the girl was not to move to her husband's house until she was sexually mature. Since the infant mortality is high in India, the girl often became a widow though she still was a child living at her father's house. She could not marry anybody else and could not lead a normal life, she became destitute. Child marriages still occur, mostly in rural areas.

Widowburning or *"sati"* has also become more and more rare, fortunately. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act 1987 was created to stop both the commission and the glorification of sati. The punishment of glorification of sati is to be at least one year and maximum seven years. The fine of Rs. 5,000 is the least sum, but this could be increased to Rs.

30,000. This cruel ceremony was most frequent in the North of India. The widow was supposed to burn herself to death together with her dead husband, then she was really virtuous. "Sati" means virtuous woman. She often did this under pressure from her relatives.The widow could also be carried forcefully to the fire. She knew that her position in the family would change for the worse, her life would be very difficult after the funeral if she chose to live. In the most extreme cases she could no longer attend the family festivals which play so big part in Hindu life, for she would bring bad luck to all present. This "volontary" cremation was especially common in high-castes, for example the warrior caste.

On a pillar found in Madhya Pradesh this inscription from AD 510 can be read:

"Hither came Bhanu Gupta, the bravest man on earth,
a great king, a hero bold as Arjuna,
and hither Goparaja followed him,
as a friend follows a friend.

And he fought a great and famous battle,
and passed to heaven, a god among the chieftains,
his wife, loyal and loving, beloved and fair,
followed close behind him into the flames."(Basham, 1967)

The lives of two Indian women could be extremly different, it depends on what kind of family they are born to, where in the country they live, what their fathers do for a living, what caste they are born into, how much money they have, if they have a fair skin, if they live in a modern city like New Delhi or in a rural area in Orissa. It is therefore difficult to draw up any general lines, a structure, of what an Indian woman's life is like. However, there are some rules that go for every Indian woman. When she was born, her family was most certainly sorry that she was not a boy.

When she grows up, she will learn that she is useless on her own, without her family and a husband she is nothing worth. When she becomes pregnant, she will pray to her god every day that it is a little boy that she will give birth to.

In India people live in an extended famoliy type, the so-called *joint family*. In the western world we have developed to live in nuclear families. The family in India is the social network that has lost its function in the western world. In India the children and the old family members are taken care of by their family. We have chosen to give the responsibility to different specialized institutions. This system is found very strange and inhuman to many Indians.

The whole family often lives together in the same house; father, mother, their sons and their wifes, uncles, aunts, cousins, sisters-in-law, children. The family is everything. Without it, it is impossible to live.

There is one situation when the family does not take care of a family member when she is in need of help. That is when a young girl becomes pregnant without being married. Now, when she is in bigger need of her family's support than ever before - they turn their backs on her. She is no longer wanted in the family. She brings disgrace to the whole family, she is therefore rejected. No man would marry a pregnant woman, even if it was his own child that she was carrying.

Now she has two options - to give birth to the child or to have an abortion. If she chooses the abortion she can stay in her family, that is if they do not find out about it, and get married before anyone finds out about it.

Abortions have been legal in India since 1972, but they are not accepted by society. The traditional rules are more important than the law, not only on this point. Many poor and uneducated women do not know about the possibility to have an abortion, nor could they afford it. Their only choice is to give birth to the child.

Number of M.T.P cases (Medical Termination of Pregnancy) in Orissa:
(Source: Health Department, Government of Orissa)

1988-89	25,998
1989-90	23,709
1990-91	21,485

The increasing number of sterilization cases is probably the reason to the decreasing number of M.T.P cases. Only 20% of those who have a sterilization operation made are men (Health Dept., Gov. of Orissa).

Contraceptives are not difficult to get, and they are not expensive, sometimes they are even free of cost. The problem here as well is the lack of knowledge and education, even though big campaigns have been initiated by the Government about both contraceptives and sterilization.

It is not unusual that a girl in this terrible situation sees no other way out than to commit suicide. Many women in this situation go away from their homes during the pregnancy. Once the child is born they can either abandon it - which is easiest - or keep it, and then they can never go back to their families again. They will have to live on their own for the rest of their lives, they are destitutes, social outcasts. If they are lucky, somebody might help them to a Short Stay Home (see ch 2.3) where they can get help to build a respectable life. If not, they might have to support themselves by the means of thieving, begging or even prostitution.

(The informaton in this chapter is based on interviews, except where some other source is specified).

2.1 The Dowry problem

It is an old tradition that the bride's father gives his daughter and her husband a dowry when they marry, to help them in their new life. The dowry often consists of money and some valuable things like a vehicle,

jewelry, a sewing-machine, a refrigerator. Originally the dowry gave the woman protection, economic power and through that some kind of independence. Today it has become a weapon against the woman. It is only during the last twenty years that this change has taken place. The dowry which from the beginning was a nice and joyful thing has now turned into a terrible obligation which creates tragedies. Almost all marriages in India are arranged, it is a business deal between two families. Love marriages are rare though they are getting more common today, and the bride has to have a dowry anyway. And even if the husband does not demand a dowry in the beginning, he will probably do so when he needs money. Unemployment is one of the reasons for this problem, many young men are out of work and naturally try every way to get money.

Under the Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Act, 1986, the minimum punishment for taking a dowry or abetting the procurement of a dowry has been raised to five years of imprisonment and a fine of 15,000 rupees. But the law says nothing about the reality.

It is a big problem to have many daughters for whom dowries have to be provided. In some cases the father promises to give a part of the dowry after some time, for example a year or two. If he does not keep his promise his daughter has to suffer for this. The husband might torture his wife physically or mentally until she can get her father to come up with the money. The women are not all innocent in this. Very often it is the in-laws (sisters-in-law, mother-in-law) that want a girl's husband to get more money from her family. When the young couple marries, the woman has to move in with her husband's family to which she now belongs. Naturally the family wants more money for the household.

Sometimes when the pressure is too hard on the woman she sees no other way out than to commit suicide, often through hanging, drowning or poisoning with fertilizer for instance, or finally her husband and her in-laws simply murder her, a common way is to burn her to death, they pour petrol over her and set her on fire. This accident is easy to explain because

the women often work near the open fire and a sari is very inflammable. This is what has been called bride-burning and should not bee mixed up with widow-burning or sati which is something totally different (see ch. 2.1). Women's organisations in India are fighting for the women's right in court. It is very difficult for a woman to prove her right on her own.

When the man has got rid of his wife he can remarry and get a new dowry. In 1990, 4,800 married women were reported dead in mysterious circumstances, often through burning (SvD 18.12.91). How many are not reported?

2.2 Short Stay Homes

In the Welfare Programme, under the scheme of Short Stay Homes for Women and Girls, the Government is giving grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations for establishing and running Short Stay Homes. The idea is to protect and rehabilitate women and girls who are "facing social and moral danger due to family problems, mental strain, social ostracism, exploitation of any cause which may leave a woman in a situation where she is exposed to any kind of danger". At the homes the following services should be provided:

I Medical care
II Psychiatric treatment
III Case-work services
IV Occupational therapy
V Social facilities for adjustment
VI Educational, vocational and recreational activities
(India 1987 & India 1990, A Reference Annual)

In 1987, 39 Homes were running with grants-in-aid from the Government. According to the scheme, each Home should have a

minimum of 20 residents and a maximum of 40 residents.

We visited an organisation in the Orissa State Branch in Cuttack which runs three Short Stay Homes. These are called Mamata Short Stay Homes (Mamata is a female name that means love and affection). This organisation was formed on the 7th of July 1958 and is affiliated to the Association for Social Health in India which has its headquarters at New Delhi.

The activities of the Homes:

I Rescue and rehabilitation of destitute women and girls.
II Juvenile deliquency
III Family life education Programme
IV Vocational training course
V Child welfare programme
(India 1987 & India 1990, A Reference Annual)

It is a volunteer organisation. Those running it are social workers, that is women, often well educated and from a high-caste, who do this work without receiving any salary. The Hindu tradition says that the rich high-caste people should help the poor, through charity. The whole system with orphanages and different Homes is totally dependent on the social workers.

Sometimes when there is no money left to run the Home, they simply take off a golden bracelet or a ring and sell it so they can get over the temporary crisis. The Home also get some contributions from private donors, but it is not much. The money that they receive from the Central and State Government is not sufficient.

At the oldest home they had 37 residents (mothers with approximately 3-4 children). Policemen, social workers and others brought the women to the home. The women have been rejected by society for different reasons.

They might be divorced, or pregnant and unmarried, they might have run away from their husbands because of dowry problems (see ch. 2.1) or maybe their husbands are alcoholics. Maybe they have problems in their marriages due to different castes or religions (Hindu-Muslim).

The women are of all ages and from all classes in society, they have different backgrounds and different religions. They have one thing in common, they have no one else to turn to, their families have rejected them. If a woman comes to the home with a very small child they will take it away from her and send it to an orphanage. They think it is best for both the child and its mother.

The women can stay here for a maximum of three years. After this time they have to be able to stand on their own feet. At the Home the women get help with everything. The young girls are send to boarding schools and come home for holidays. The Home becomes their family, their parental home. The rehabilitation is a hard process. The main goal is to make the women believe in themselves. The women get vocational training in sewing, fibre-work, blockprinting etc. The Home provides work for them like tailoring, housekeeping and hospital work. Weddings are also organised by the Home for the women (when this is possible), and they try to bring about a reconciliation between some women and their husbands. The best thing is said to be that the woman can go back and live with her husband again.

Two of the Homes are situated in the city of Cuttack. The third, the newest which was founded in summer 1991, is situated in a village called Tangi outside Cuttack. Seventeen women had so far come to stay at the Home when we visited them in November 1991. Here they cultivated many of the things that they needed for the household such as rice, bananas, spices, and they had fish in a pond. They also kept ducks, hens and cows.

When a woman leaves the home, she should be able to support herself. Some marry, others will have to live on their own in a hostel for the rest of

their lives. If they get new problems they can naturally come back to the Home. The social workers try to keep in touch with the women when they have left the Home, they go and visit them and when there is a festival they will come back and visit their parental home.

The social workers often write to the Government and try to get more money for the Homes, but they are always turned down. One who appreciates their work is Mother Theresa who visited them in 1978.

3 ORPHANAGES

Our main interest when we came to India was to study orphanages, to find out why the children were orphans and what their future might be.

Orphanages have existed in India for a long time, voluntary organisations have run homes, not only for children, but for all kinds of destitutes. A goal set up in the Constitution of India is to develop the country into a welfare state. The Government has therefore formulated a Welfare Programme. A scheme was started in 1974 under the Welfare Programme to provide care and protection for abandoned, neglected and destitute children. The aim is to rehabilitate the children so they become normal citizens, and give them the right to their basic needs: shelter, food, clothes, medical care and education.The scheme has been sponsored by the Central Government since 1979-80. Financial assistance is, under the scheme, provided to voluntary organisations for the maintenance of children; 90 % of the costs for the orphanages is to be shared by the Central Government and the State Government, the organisation is to provide the last 10 % itself (see Application Forms ch.9). Each State Government has to see that the organisations are running the homes satisfactory and are following the maintenance rules.

In our work we have distinguished between the organisations that get financial help from the Government and those who for various reasons do not.

3.1 Voluntary Organisations that get financial support from the Government

In the State of Orissa there are 83 orphanages (1.4.91) that are given grants-in-aid. Totally 5300 children live at these orphanages.Those have to follow the rules that are set up by the Government of Orissa:

Taken from "The Orissa Maintenance of Orphanages Rules 1985" Community development and rural reconstruction department (No 9893-11-CW-55/90-CW)

1. Scope of the Rules

These Rules apply to orphanages, that is, to institutions that provide boarding and lodging, health care and opportunities of education, training and rehabilitation in life to at least 25 (twenty-five)

(a) orphaned and abandoned children without parents and near relations to look after them;

(b) children of single parent families deprived of adequate family care due to death, desertion, prolonged illness or imprisonment of one of the parents provided that the total family income does not exeed Rs. 500/- per month; and

(c) children of parents afflicted with leprosy or mental illness.

Notes :

1. Children who are in any manner related to an office bearer or emloyee of the institution should not be admitted into the institution.

2. Children above 18 (eighteen) years of age are not ordinarily eligible for accomodation in an orphanage. However, a girl inmate above 18 years of age may be maintained in an orphanage till her marriage or employment or till she attains the age of 25 (twenty-five) years, whichever is earlier. The upper age limit is relaxable upto 4 (four) years by the Collector of the district if, in his opinion, an inmate is academically brilliant.

2. Eligibility and Recognition

(1) No orphanage that has not been recognised in accordance with the provisions of this rule shall be eligible for any assistance by or through the State Government.

(2) Recognition, once given, shall be deemed to continue til it is revoked by an order of the State Government. No recognition shall, however, be revoked unless the institution concerned is given an opportunity to show cause against the grounds of the proposed revocation and its representation is considered by Government.[- - -]

3. General conditions of recognition

(1) No application for recognition shall be considered if there are any grounds for believing that the management

(a) is not a society within the meaning of the Societies Registration Act, 1860, or

(b) discriminates in the admission of orphans or the treatment extended to them, on grounds of religion, language, caste or creed.

(2) Recognition of an orphanage may be withdrawn by the Government if they have reasons to believe that the management has

(a) incurred either of the disqualificatons referred to the sub-rule (1), or

(b) misutilised any part of the assistance it has received from Government or funds that it has collected, or

(c) failed to take reasonable care of the inmates or maintain the orphanage in hygienic conditions and in a state of good repair, [- - -]

4 Duties of the Management

In addition to fulfilling the conditions referred to in rule 3, the management of an orphanage shall

(a) provide reasonable accomodation to the inmates including accomodation for kitchen, dining, studying and recreation;

(b) ensure general education of the inmates up to the Highschool Certificate standard (this requirement may be relaxed if an inmate is educated at least upto class VII and rehabilitated in a vocational trade);

(c) provide reasonable facilities for vocatonal education and training and for recreation;

(d) ensure safety of the inmates and prevent their coming under the influence of anti-social persons;

(e) take proper care of inmates in the event of sickness; [- - -]

(g) provide immediate access to the institution and facility of inspection including inspection of records and accounts by the Block Development Officer, [- - -]."

In October 1990, the grant-in-aid per inmate per month in Orissa was raised from Rs. 145 to Rs. 239.This should cover the following:

(a) Food	Rs.155
(b) Bedding, clothing, soap, oil, etc.	Rs.25
(c) Educational expences (both general education and vocational education	Rs.25

(d) Contingencies : (Water, electricity charges, postage, hair cutting, laundry expenses, stationery, etc.)	Rs.8
(e) Medical expenses	Rs.4
(f) Recreation	Rs.1
(g) Emoluments of House-mother (One house-mother per 25 inmates).	Rs.12
(h) Emoluments of Cook (One cook per 25 inmates)	Rs.12
(i) Rent/Maintenance of building	Rs.16
Total	Rs.266

The management of the organisation shall contribute with less than 10%, Rs 27.

3.1.1 Basundhara Orphanage

Two orphanages were started in 1985 by this organisation in Cuttack, one for children from 0-3 years and the other for children from 4-18 years. They are for both boys and girls. They get financial support from the Government, though the 239 Rs per month and child is not enough, they claim that 500 Rs are needed to make a child survive. Some money is donated to the orphanage from private donors as industrials for instance. The staff often writes to the Government to ask for more money, but this takes time and it is no use, they do not get any more money.

The first orphanage was situated on a narrow street in a calm neighbourhood in Cuttack. It was a small house with a tiny garden around it. Five women worked there, they did not know any English so we had to communicate with them through our interpreter. The house is very simple, they only have the most necessary things. In each of the three bedrooms there stood three cots and one bed for an adult. At night two children slept in each cot and a worker also slept in the room in case any of the children should awake and need help.

The children seemed healthy and normally fed. Underwears and diapers were not used on the children. The smallest children were wrapped in cloths when the workers held them in their laps. The children sat or played on the stone-floor. They did not have any toys except for a plastic machine-gun.

Sometimes the children come to the orhanage from a nursing-home and sometimes they are just found outside the door one morning. It also happens that the staff is told that there is an orphan somewhere, often a new-born, that they can come and fetch. The staff could not tell anything about the children's backgrounds, since the parents are unknown.

They have adoptions, boys are much easier to find new parents for than girls. But they have almost only girls. When it comes to girls it is only the beautiful, healthy and fair-skinned that are of interest.

A careful control is made on the future parents, income etc. to see if they are suitable. Until the child is twenty-one, the parents have to inform the orphanage about the condition of the child. There is no money involved in the adoptions, but if the parents want to, they can of course donate a sum of money to the institution. Only completely abandoned children can be adopted.

It is mostly Indians that adopt children, but they have connections with other countries such as France and Sweden (Adoptionscentrum). At the time of our visit they had four children who were on their way to Sweden.

When the children reach the age of four, they move to the other orphanage. Here they can stay until the age of eighteen, it's a governmental law, they have to be rehabilitated by then.

Thirty children lived at the second orphanage. This was much larger with a larger playing-ground as well. The inmates are given the most necessary thing they need as clothes and food, and medical care. It's only the most basic medical treatments that the orphanage can offer the children. One girl of about five years had had a serious eye-problem for a long time which she had not got any help with. It seemed to hurt and bother her a lot, she ought to have an operation.

At the age of five the children are sent to school, they also have some technical training, such as tailoring, for domestic production.

No follow-up is made on the children when they have left the orphanage. It's hard for the girls to marry since they do not have any families. Since their parents are unknown, they can not know what caste they belonged to.

3.1.2 Sakhichand Orphanage

This is a small orphanage, situated just outside the centre of Puri, a seaside resort, but also a holy city. Fifteen boys and fifteen girls between six and eighteen years of age live there.

The orphanage is financed through grants-in aid from the Government. Private donators are rare.

When an orphan is suggested to stay at the orphanage, the people who run it first make an inquiry, and if they find that the child will fit in, they fetch him/her. The child can come from all castes all districts and belong to any religion.

All the inmates go to school or college. If someone is doing really well, they try to find a scholarship for him/her. The inmates can also get some vocational training (e.g. tailoring) at the orphanage .

After the age of eighteen the children must leave and try to find work, a *proper* job, and manage on his/her own. They usually do not have any more contact with the orphanage when they have once left it.

Four people work there: one craft teacher, one house-mother and two assisting house-mothers.

Adoptions are not encouraged, because of rumours about what has happened to adopted children (see ch. 4).

3.1.3 Satysai Seva Sangha, Ashram with a school

One hundred and twenty-six children stay at this orphanage situated in a rural area outside Bhubaneswar. They receive grants-in-aid from the Government. It's only for boys, most of whom come from rural areas throughout the state and have lost either their father or mother. Their single parents have, for various reasons, not been able to take care of the child who has been sent there for an education.

The boys get food, clothes, books and everything they need and go to school for ten years. Grades 1-5 are taught within the orphanage, in grades 6-10 the boys go to a high school nearby.

They also keep juvenile delinquents there, and at the time of our visit

they had two, a boy and a girl, who had run away.

Since most of the children have one parent, they do not have any adoptions, though they have once had Swedish people there to inquire.

Five teachers work at the school, and two caretakers who are to keep an eye on the delinquent children. A fairly large garden belongs to the orphanage where they cultivate vegetables for their own needs.

When the boys are about eighteen, they have to go back to their parents. If they do not have any parents they go to technical training and then try to find work. The home has no further contact with the boys after they have left it.

3.2 Orphanages without any grants-in-aid from the Government

Anyone can start an orphanage, there is no need for a special permit for that. And any orphanage with at least 25 inmates receives money if they apply for it and follow the regulations that are set up by the Government.

Many orphanages in India are independent and most of those are based on an ideology, often Christian, but there are also others, the SOS-villages for instance.

These non-governmental orphanages can often be more successful than others, because they have this ideology. Their problem is to find a way to finance their work. One way is to find sponsors abroad, churches or private persons.

3.2.1 Douglas' Memorial Children's Home

This home in Bhubaneswar was founded in 1964 by a Christian American missionary called Douglas. It receives money from American funds for expenses, and nothing from the Government. Fifty children, only boys, live there, most of them come from tribal areas. They are usually from the age of five and up when they arrive.

Not all of the boys are orphans, but come from extremely poor families,

who have not been able to take the responsibility for the boy's upbringing.

The boys go to school from 1st to 3rd grade at the Home, then they go to nearby schools for further education. They are raised in a Christian belief at the Home.

When the boys are sixteen, they must leave and find themselves a job. Sometimes the boys come back after having left the Home, for prayers. The Home does not permit adoptions.

3.2.2 Sister St Joseph's Ashram

Sister St Joseph's Ashram, situated in Cuttack is not for children, only for grown-ups, handicapped physically, mentally or both. Some of their patients are old and dying. The sisters co-operate with a Medical Care Center, since they have many old and ill patients staying at the Ashram. Their patients stay there for ever, it is their last home. Those who can, do some small work eg produce small paper-bags out of old newspapers, needlework etc.

Of more interest for our study are the nurseries run by the Sisters of Charity in other places. There are three of these in Orissa and they are called "Nurseries for motherless children". The children in these nurseries are semi-orphans, they have lost their mothers and have fathers who cannot take care of them as long as they are babies.

The children can stay at the nursery for a maximum of three years, then their fathers must come and fetch their children.

3.2.3 Jehova Home for Children

This quite large orphanage, founded in 1975, is situated in the outskirts of Cuttack. Eighty-eight children stay there, only boys. They do not get any aid from the Government, but are sponsored by a Protestant church in Holland, and also by other organisations.

Most of the boys come from tribal areas, some are orphans, others come from very poor families. Those boys are to return to their families when they can earn their living. The average age of the boys at the time of their

arrival to the home is six to eight years.

The children can come from all social groups, but preferably from Christian families, or families willing to be converted.

Clothes, food and medical care is provided by the Home. The boys are sent to nearby schools and colleges to get education, often technical courses. Normally, the boys stay until the age of eighteen, but they can of course leave earlier if they have completed their courses.

No adoptions are allowed.

Not many of the boys marry, probably because of their low status in society.

3.2.4 Worldwide Faith Mission's Children's Home

Mr Manohar Pattnaik founded this orphanage in Bhubaneswar in 1978. He does not receive any help from the Government for the orphanage, because he does not want to follow the regulations that are included in that. The children can for example stay as long as they want to, not only until the age of eighteen, which is one of the rules at the goverment orphanages.

Financing is the main problem for the Home. They have tried to find sponsors for the children, but it has been hard to get the system to work. They get 160$ a month from a sponsor in the USA, but this is not enough. When the girls are to get married, the Home must provide a dowry for them, and arrange a wedding-dinner, this is very costly.

Twenty children, both boys and girls live at the Home, some of them have come there as babies.

Mr Pattnaik and his wife are Christian Protestants and the children are raised in the Christian belief. The children and the staff (a cook and a gardener) can have other religious beliefs if they want to. They do not have any adoptions at the Home, since it becomes the children's real home.

The children are sent to ordinary schools in the neighbourhood, to make them participate in society outside the Home.

This Home depends on the dedication of Mr Pattnaik who owns the estate and also lives there with his wife and child.

3.2.5 Sisters of Charity - Mother Theresa's Organisation

This organisation is one of those who do not receive any grants-in-aid from the Government. They get some private donations and the big Organisation of Mother Theresa in Calcutta supports them.

Mother Theresa's Organisation's Homes, they do not only take in orphans but all kinds of people that have no-one to turn to for help. Very old, perhaps dying men and women can stay with them and lead a decent life for their last days. Also mentally and physically handicapped stay with them.

We visited one of their orphanage centers, situated in Bhubaneswar. Six sisters worked there along with paid helpers. It was started 11-12 years ago. They had about 30 children there, mostly newborns, up to an age of five. The infants lay in wooden beds on plastic fabric. Their napkins were made of cloth. Some of them were only two or three weeks old. Many of them were malnourished, understimulated or suffered from polio. Some children had brain damages and sores that wouldn't heal because their mothers had used drugs during pregnancy. The mothers were often prostitutes who had no chance to keep their child. Others are ordinary family-girls that had abandoned their child.

Many mothers came to the orphanage and begged them to take care of their children, but the sisters had to refuse. They can not take in just any child, it has to be an orphan with nobody to take care of it at all.

One little girl was supposed to stay with them for one year and then be sent back to its mother. The mother could not take care of her as long as she was so small.

The children are often found at the railway station in Bhubaneswar, sometimes newborns are found in the fields by the road. It is usually doctors and nursing homes that contact the home when they have an unwanted baby in their care that they wanted the sisters to take to the Orphanage Center.

The children are given the most basic need; food, clothes and medical care. The older children are taught by the sisters how to eat and how to clean themselves. They do not raise the children in a Christian belief, they

think that religion should be a free choice.

Every day children from the slums come and get some help with medical care, food etc. Some of the slum children can not go to school because they can not afford the schooluniform.

The inmates can - in theory - stay forever, but they are always adopted by someone. The home has no follow-up, and does not know what happens to the child when it gets adopted, it becomes the family's matter. Only rich people adopt children, they say, and they mostly want boys. In Bhubaneswar it is only Indians who come for adoptions, but in Calcutta also foreigners come.

The seriously handicapped children have no future at all. Not many - if any - reach an age of fifteen. There is no time or money for the special treatment that those children need.

Sister Pushpika whom we interviewed said that we would not understand what it was all about through just interviewing. She asked us to come and help them in their morning-work some day. And so we did.

Everybody was very busy, all the children had to be bathed, changed and fed (powder-gruel as a substitute for mother's milk). We helped them with what we could, the older children as well. The sisters seemed to be very fond of the babies though they could not spend much time on each child, the work had to be done as on an assembly line.

What these babies lacked most was human contact. Just touching a baby was enough to make it stop crying.

3.2.6 Shelter Orphanage in Cuttack

This orphanage was founded in 1914 by a Christian Protestant organisation. In 1955 a high school was started, and in 1988 an English-Medium school was built to complete the orphans' education. The schools are open for Christian girls outside the orphanage as well. The orphanage and the school buildings are situated just outside the city of Cuttack. The grounds are rather large with several buildings and a nice garden with lawns, trees and flowers.

It is a non-governmental organisation but they do not have any

economic problems, they receive money from churches abroad and also from private donors. And since the money is worth more in India, they can allow themselves to keep a rather high standard. Groups of people, women's groups for instance, can sponsor a child while it is growing up.

The orphanage is strictly for girls and they only take in children that they know had Christian parents. The girls are usually from five to eight years old when they come here, and have to be either of

* an orphan
* a semi-orphan
* a destitute

They used to have babies as well, but they no longer have them, due to staff problems. Poor people sometimes come and beg them to take care of their little girls, but the orphanage has to be restrictive and help those who have the worst situation first, then if there is any vacancy, others can come in as well.

Thirty-two girls between five and twenty-five live in the orphanage. Only two women work there, the girls do everything themselves: clean, cook, wash their clothes etc. It is all very well organised.The inmates get everything they need: clothes, food, medical care, there is no lack of anything.

After high-school the girls can continue their education, (there is a women's college situated next to the orphanage) or get vocational training, or marry. Unlike most orphans, these girls do not have any problems in finding suitable husbands. They only marry other Christians. The religon is important, the girls are raised in the Christian belief. Every morning and evening they have service for half an hour.

There is no strict limit for how long they can stay at the Shelter, but normally they leave at the age of twenty-five. They can of course leave earlier if they do well. The orphanage tries to keep in touch with the girls after they have left it for example through visiting.

Since the Shelter is the girls real home, no adoptions are allowed, though people come and ask. These girls' future is quite normal, like any other Indian girl's, with marriage, work, home etc.

We discussed with some of the girls what they wanted to do in their

lives, using the following headings:

(A) Name
(B) Age
(C) Duration of stay at the Shelter
(D) What she wants to have as a profession

Below are some of their answers:

(A) Sephalie Mibia
(B) 20 years
(C) 12 years
(D) a preacher - Operation Mobilisation

(A) Mamata Nayak
(B) 10 years
(C) 4 months
(D) a teacher

(A) Susmita Sanu
(B) 13 years
(C) 6 years
(D) a nurse

(A) Goury Nayak
(B) 9 years
(C) 4 years
(D) an engineer

Their plans for the future say a lot, compare their answers with those of the slumchildren in ch. 6.1. They have self-confidence, and do not think of themselves as being worth less than any other Indian girls. We were really impressed after having visited the Shelter. These people had succeeded in

giving the orphans an ordinary, middle-class-life, a quite normal future with a family and a home of their own. As we have discussed earlier, it is almost impossible for orphan girls to have these basic ingredients of life, if they are not lucky enough to be pretty and healthy and be adopted by some rich couple.

We believe that there are three reasons for the success of the Shelter:
(1)The principal, the board and the teachers are well-educated, they have the know-how.
(2) No economic problems.
(3)They have a firm religious belief that the girls are worth a decent life just like anybody else.

Other orphanages might lack at least one of these things. The problem is that they only take in Christian girls.

3.2.7 SOS Children's Villages

This is an international organisation, working with rescuing orphan children, founded in 1949 by the Austrian Dr. Hermann Gmeiner. During World War Two he realized that what the refugee children, left orphaned and homeless needed most was a family, someone who could love them. SOS is short for the Latin name Societas Socialis, but SOS should also make people think of the international code Save Our Souls.

The SOS-villages have existed in India since 1964. Over 10 000 children are taken care of in about 26 villages throughout India. The SOS-villages are totally dependent on sponsors from all over the world: Germany, USA, Sweden and many others.

Every child that is taken care of gets a family and a home. The family consists of 8-9 boys and girls and the SOS-mother. This becomes the child's permanent home and he (or she) does not leave it until he can stand on his own feet. The SOS-mothers are advertized for, these are often widows or devorced women without children. The SOS-mothers dedicate their lives to the children, they must not have any children of their own. They get training in a special Mothers' Training Center. The average SOS-village has 15-20 houses and is supervised by a Village Director. Schools

and Medical Centers that are affiliated to the SOS-villages have also been built by the organisation. These are open to the whole neighbourhood, it is important that the SOS-villages are a part of the community.

Naturally, no child can be adopted from an SOS-village. Two foundling-homes for adoption-services are run by the organisation, one in New Delhi and one in Madras.

We visited the SOS-village in Bhubaneswar and interviewed the Village Director, Sqn. Ldr. S. Panigrahy.

The children are often unwanted newborns, that come directly from the hospital. Some are orphans, others have unmarried mothers or have parents that suffer from incurable deseases. They want the children to be small when they come to the village so the interaction between the child and its new mother will function satisfactory. The boys must not be over the age of six and the limit for the girls is seven.They do not accept handicapped children.

When the girls grow up and want to get married, they will advertize for grooms for them. (Advertizing for a suitable bride/groom is very common in India.) The children can have any religion, but they can not convert to another until they are eighteen. They even have a Muslim family where the mother is a Muslim. The children are given names suitable to their religion, eg Joseph for a Christian child etc.The SOS-children can lead a perfectly ordinary life when they grow up, have a family, a job and a home.

4 ADOPTIONS

A background

As we have stated before all *orphans* are not real orphans - they are unwanted. But those that are unquestionably real orphans have the possibility to be adopted.

Some of the orphanages that we visited gave children away for adoption. Sometimes it is a question of religion. The Hindu orphanages were most willing to give children for adoption. In that way they could take care of and help more children. The Christian homes saw everybody as members of one big family and did not like the thought of adoption. In the Islamic religion adoption is a totally unknown concept because their religion forbids it.

What does the law say?

India is a secular state where every religion has its own social legislation*. In the Jain family for example, the head of the family can give away a child for adoption, it does not necessarily have to be the parents who take this step.

It is only Hindus that are allowed to adopt children. Every couple can adopt a child, but a man can not adopt without his wife's agreement (The Hindu Adoption Act of 1956).

There are no restrictions concerning the parents' income. The costs for an adoption are rarely more than 1,000 rupees*, but delays can raise the costs.

When a couple wants to adopt a child, their case goes to the District Court and the legal procedures take three to four years. If the parents are known it can shorten the length of time.

The child does not leave the orphanage until everything is settled. When the child has left the orphanage there is no possibility of taking it back.

Very seldom do the different orphanages have any contact with the child or the parents after all the procedures are finished. (Interview with M M Basu, Advocate, Orissa High Court).

A boy or a girl?

In India the importance of a son has been one of the main motivations for adoptions for a long time. Still this is the main reason. In every orphanage we visited that gave away children for adoption they told us that it is very easy to find parents to the boys but that it is much harder for the girls. The girls who had the chance of being adopted were those that had very light skin and were beautiful. If a child had any handicap, adoption was unthinkable.

In Orissa very early adoptions (under the age of one year) are common.

Most of the children are adopted by Indian families but some are adopted by foreign parents. The foreign countries that adopt most children from India are Sweden, Denmark, Holland and France.

It is difficult for some Indians to believe that someone from such a rich country as Sweden wants to have an Indian orphan as their own child. Social-workers asked us if the rumours they have heard were true; if the adopted children were sold at markets in Sweden and were kept as servants or slaves!

463 children from Asia were adopted to Sweden in 1991 (SDS 09-05-1992).

* The criminal law is uniform
* 250 SEK

5 ORPHANS IN TRIBAL VILLAGES

We had the opportunity to visit one tribal village. Dababania is an inaccessibly situated village up in the mountains near Rambha, in the district of Ganjam. 150 people lived in Dababania. It was a very different view of Indian society that we brought with us back to *civilization*.

If a child loses his or her parents in a tribe the orphan is not left on his/her own - the closest neighbour takes care of the child/children.

The parents are of very great importance in a tribal village. The villagers told us about an orphan in their village that they pitied very much because of his loss - he was sixty-five years old !

We also met an orphan, Ramesh, whose parents had both died of malaria two years ago, when he was twelve years old. When his parents died he was big enough to take care of himself. He has no sisters or brothers and he lives alone in his parents' house. He cooks his own food and works as a shepherd, watching the goats. The male villagers joked a little with the very shy Ramesh and told us that in four years he will marry and have a family of his own.

6 LIFE OF THE SLUM CHILDREN

In Bhubaneswar most of the slum children live in the railway station area. At night they sleep under a piece of cloth on one of the platforms, in a nearby school for homeless children or with their parents in a small shed.

When the morning arrives they have two choices concerning how to spend their day; either they can beg people for money or they can try to get a job like polishing shoes, sweeping train wagons or selling bananas. The social tradition, especially in poor families, is that the man, the wage-earner, must have the best of everything, for example most of the food. Only what is left may be divided between the other family members, the male child getting more than the female child. Children as young as five years can be forced to work from early morning til late evening to earn their living. There is no time for playing games or having fun and certainly no time left for school.

Some of the children who beg are *employees*. An adult forces them to beg and takes almost all the money from the child.

All the children at the railway station are in a very bad condition. They are dirty, their clothes are in rags, none of them wear shoes, they do not get enough food or medical care and they lack education.(The educational problem is dealt with in ch.7).

One source of these problems is the parents or, more exactly, the fact that the parents were denied all these opportunities themselves. They are not in a position to give to their children the training and guidance which is their responsibility as parents.

As many of the slum families come from different village communities, the situation in those villages is another problem. Those families migrate to urban areas and a life in the slum because they find the slum life better than the life in their village. If those villages were reconstructed and developed it would reduce and prevent the migration of the rural poor to the cities (Singh, Pothera, 1982).

6.1 Interviews

Part of our study of the slum children was to try to talk to some of them and hear their opinions about their lives and their future.

Most of the children worked or begged at the railway station. We were told that it was easiest to meet them in the mornings and in the evenings. Here follows the stories of some of the children we got to talk to:

Raju is eleven or twelve years old, he does not know exactly. He had lived in the state of Andra Pradesh before but had moved to the slum area in Bhubaneswar. Here he lives with his parents, one sister and two brothers. At the railway station he works with sweeping the trains. He gets three rupees* for each train and he makes about nine rupees a day. His dream is to become a hotel boy. In his spare time he plays soccer and volley ball with his sister and brothers. Raju has never been to any school and he is illiterate.

Lokess is thirteen years old and he is also from Andra Pradesh. He lives only with his mother and a younger brother because his father is dead. The day we meet him he is selling bananas at the station because his mother is ill and cannot do the work herself. When his mother is not ill, Lokess goes for technical training in a garage all day until late at night. He earns 30 rupees a month at the garage. He wants to become a mechanic. Lokess has completed third grade and knows how to read and write. He wants to educate his younger brother.

Benu is ten years old and an orphan. He sweeps compartments in the train and earns 7-10 rupees a day. His dream is to become a shopkeeper. He sleeps in a school (Ruchika, see ch 7.1.1) at night and he also gets three meals a day there for which he pays five rupees. He has completed fourth grade.

Gopal is twelve years old and an orphan. His mother committed suicide and his father fell down from a tree and died. He comes from a village but

has fled to Bhubaneswar. He likes to play cards with his friends. He claims that in the future maybe he will have to take up gambling to survive. They also play soccer and hide and seek. Gopal and his friends do not like to attend school because the teachers have so many restrictions - they want their freedom. The boys have different wishes for the future, some want to become shopkeepers and others want to work in a garage.

Ramesh is fifteen years old and was born in a village in the district of Ganjam. He left his home two years ago since his father beat him a lot. He has two brothers who still live in the village. Ramesh works in a factory where he earns 150 rupees a month. He also gets two meals a day at the factory because he helps the cook in the kitchen. Ramesh has completed school up to grade six and he has also worked in a garage for six months.

A small boy, three or four years old, begs at the station. He is not interested in talking to us. He gets one rupee from our interpreter and immediately he runs away and gives the money to an old man. Our interpreter follows them and demands an explanation. The man claims that he is the boy's grandfather and that he takes care of this boy and two other boys because their parents had moved and lived 300 kilometres away. We seriously doubt this story.

*1 rupie is approximately 0,25 SEK

7 EDUCATION OF THE SLUM CHILDREN

Most of the people living in the slum areas belong to low castes and tribes and very low income groups. The usual expectation of every parent in the slum community is that their children should follow the trade of the family, (a great number of the men/fathers are rickshaw-pullers). If the standard of education for these children could be improved their future might seem a little brighter.

7.1 Alternative Schools

Education got high priority when India became independent in 1947. The new constitution required the state to provide free and compulsory basic education (8 years) (Bordia,1989).

A hundred years ago, six out of one hundred Indians were able to read. Today the numbers are changed; out of one hundred men sixty are able to read and write. But it is only thirty women out of hundred who have the same proficiency (Berg, 1990).

In spite of the constitution lots of children do not get this free and compulsory education. There are a lot of reasons for this. The economic necessity of putting children to work, the parents' lack of appreciation of the need for education, inadequate financial resources and lack of educational facilities are some of the main causes.

Still there are a few organisations, governmental and non-governmental, that have the belief and will to try to give these children an education and, hopefully, a more worthwhile life.

7.1.1 Ruchika School Social Service Wing (RSSSW)

The Ruchika School is a well established primary school in Bhubaneswar. In response to the unmet but felt needs of the streetchildren the Director-cum-secretary of Ruchika School, Mrs Inderjit Khurana, started the social service wing in 1985. The aim was to bring cheer, love and care as well as

basic literacy skills to the children.

The Platform School

A group of children met with a volunteer from the RSSSW every Sunday on one of the platforms at the railway station, where the children lived. Passing trains and spectators did not dampen the awakened aspirations of the young learners. On the contrary, the swelling numbers and the regularity of attendance quickly turned the weekly sessions into daily ones.

When we visit the Platform School there are two teachers guiding the children in singing, dancing and playing. The study material is stored in a big trunk.

Through songs, dances and puppetry the children learn arithmetic and language. The same methods are used to convey simple messages on health, nutrition, environmental sanitation, personal hygiene, home management etc. History, Geography and Science are built into the programmes as parts of life experiences.

After the lesson, that lasts three hours in the morning, the children get some biscuits.

On Saturdays there are no lessons, it is washing-day. The teachers see that the children wash themselves, comb their hair, brush their teeth and cut their fingernails.

The teachers are not trained but highly motivated.

About sixty children regularly attend the Platform School.

Other programmes within RSSSW

The Ruchika School Social Service Wing also includes other programmes for the poor:

Non formal Centres of Education are 35 centres which are organised in the same way as the Platform School, but are situated in the slums and in the poor sections of the city. These are for children who have to work and the teaching is held at a time convenient for the children. The reason why they have the school in the slum is that they want to prevent children from

going to the railway station where they easily get into bad habits such as stealing or using drugs.

The centres receive a grant from the Government and 1,200 children in the age group six to eighteen years old attend these centres each day, managed by thirty teachers.

Day Care Centres are different places where children aged six months to six years can play, learn and rest. They also get a mid-day meal.

The Government provides part of the recurring expenses and the accommodation is provided free of cost by the community. One hundred children attend the centres managed by six workers.

Medical centre means that a doctor visits the sick people at the railway station six days a week, for one hour each day. Communicable diseases, skin ailments, ear and eye infections, ulcers, nutritional deficiencies and leprosy are common, especially in the slum areas where the health awareness is minimal.

Medicines are donated by well-wishers and pharmaceutical companies.

A ***Toy Library*** was started for sheer fun and joy and for learning. Children in the age group three to six years can play with donated toys for two hours every day.

In 1989 RSSSW started a ***Drop-in Shelter***, an Asra, a home for abandoned, orphaned or/and runaway boys, who are eight to fourteen years old, with no support systems. It is a home to which they can come at any time to rest, bathe, relax, eat, play, learn and be looked after.

The main reason for starting up this shelter was the idea that no child should be forced to work for his living instead of going to school.

At the present time twenty of the boys are doing work at the station, ten boys are in regular schools, forty receive vocational training and six have been given alternative employment. Fifty boys visit the shelter casually for meals and recreation. Twelve boys have established contact with their

families.

The shelter is only for boys but they want to establish one for girls too. Once they tried to have three girls, child-prostitutes, in a locked room at night. But the customers missed their services and knocked at the door and shouted so loud the neighbours could not sleep. As the shelter is a rented apartment they had to stop giving the girls somewhere to stay overnight.

When we visited the shelter almost all of the boys were there. They had just had their mid-day meal, which they get at subsidized cost. The staff were very nice and it seemed as if they took very good care of the boys. The rooms where the boys slept were quite small, about nine square metres for seven to ten boys, but everything was very clean.

The Drop-in Shelter receives a grant from a private funding agency.

In our view the Ruchika organisation is exactly what is needed for people, and especially children, in poor circumstances. (Interviews with Mrs Khurana, staff and information are also taken from Ruchika School Social Service Wing's pamphlet).

7.1.2 Governmental slum schools

The Government of Orissa has made attempts to educate people in their own neighbourhood - the slum area. In co-operation with UNICEF the Integrated Child Development Scheme was started. This meant that different activities took place in the slum areas, nutrition aid, health education and Anganvadis, and in connection with the Anganvadis teachers' training centres were started.

Anganvadi is a pre-school for children in the age-group three to six years.

The one we visited was situated very close to the Ruchika Shelter in the railway station area. It was supposed to have activities between 8 am and 12 am but the teacher did not arrive until ten o'clock.

Every morning the teacher and her two helpers go around in the area and collect the children, otherwise they would not show up, they told us.

There were about forty pupils and some of them we had seen earlier that morning at the Platform School.

The children sang songs, the favourites were the activity-songs where, with the help of their hands and bodies, they learned the alphabet, short stories and Oriya.

Before the children finished school they all got some biscuits. Pregnant women also came to the school and received some biscuits.

The children seemed to enjoy themselves very much during lesson-time but neither the teacher nor the children were as enthusiastic as the teacher and his children at the Platform School.

Teachers' Training centres

To get workers for the Anganvadi centres teachers have to be trained for this special task.

If a person wants to work as a teacher she has to have completed seventh grade; only grade three is needed to work as a teacher in tribal areas.

The education takes three months at the centre and two weeks of practice at an Anganvadi. The trainees live at the centre during their training, get free food and also a salary which is 300 rupees a month.

Only women become Anganvadi-workers; they are between fifteen and thirty-five years old when they come here and work until they reach the age of fifty-eight. Usually they come from the area in which they are supposed to work.

The woman in charge of the training centre we visited, Mrs Aruna Mohanty, told us that if the teachers did not get a salary and free food they would never get anyone to work at the Anganvadis. She told us that if a woman could get another job she would probably never become an Anganvadi worker.

There are 120 Anganvadi centres in Bhubaneswar; some work very well and others not so well. Mrs Mohanty explained that the one we had visited was not working satisfactorily.

Every three months they train fifty women and in one year they have three filled courses.(Interview with Mrs Mohanty, Teacher's trainer).

7.1.3 The Sunday school

During the work on our study we came to hear about and also had the opportunity to visit, a woman, Puspashree Pattnaik who had started a Sunday school together with her husband to help children with different problems. These problems meant that the children could not get an appropriate education. There were three main reasons for this: the parents were not interested in giving their children an education, the family had financial problems or the child belonged to a group of people called harijans. Harijans is an expression minted by Mahatma Gandhi which means the children of God, and the term is used for people that are not fully accepted in society because of their castes (*Länder i fickformat*, 1990).

The Sunday school or the Integral Children Education Centre took place in the Pattnaiks' private house and garden. They have a small library with comics and books which the children can borrow. They do not have an ordinary classroom or desks, instead they sit on the floor or on the ground. Mrs Pattnaik told us that the pupils feel more at ease that way.

The school is completely voluntary. The children, about twenty girls and five boys, come every Sunday at 3 pm and stay for a couple of hours. In the weeks most of them go to ordinary schools which are more strict and where the teachers beat the pupils a lot. Mrs Pattnaik explained that in the beginning the children came in the morning and stayed the whole day. They liked this way of learning that was so different from their ordinary school so much that they had to tell the children not to come until 3 pm. There are never any set plans or syllabuses to follow in the Sunday school, sometimes the children go home at 5 pm and other days they stay until 7 pm.

In ordinary Indian schools Science is something very difficult, here they play with the science-concept. Science is related to the pupils' daily life, i e when they learn how to measure they use the lengths of a matchbox, the hand or the foot. They use very simple teaching aids i e matches and valve rubbers to make geometric figures. In Orissa there are twenty-six

organisations that work with teaching in this way, they call it People's Science.

This way of teaching has in some ways given hope back to these children who otherwise had thought of school as an institution where one only learns to follow rules and gets beaten up. When we talked to the children their dreams were to become engineers, doctors, social workers and most of them wanted to become teachers.

Mrs Pattnaik told us that in the future she is planning to start a school that is run in the daytime for children belonging to the big group of harijans and in the evenings for women.

Conclusion

Education of the slum children is a great problem in India and, as in other areas in the Indian society, it is the female children who suffer most.

As we have seen in our study there are a lot of people trying to improve the situation of the masses of poor and illiterate people in Orissa. In spite of all the good initiatives these are not enough. It will take a long time before the situation of all the children in India is acceptable, if indeed it ever will be so.

8 LIST OF ORPHANAGES IN ORISSA

List of orphanages in Orissa with grants-in-aid from the Government, 1.4.91

Name and adress	Year of starting	Number of children
BALASORE		
Gandhi Seva Sangha Purubai Kanyashram At/Po Soro	1973-74	160
Mahapurusa Ashram At Kanjipal, Po Khadipada, Via Dhamanagar	1978-79	25
Shanti Ashram At Haripur Po Tihidi	1978-79	50
Gandhi Orissa Balashram At/Po Bhadrak	1961-62	210
(a) Utkal Balashram Balasore Sakha At/Po Balasore	1945-50	240
(b) Orissa State Council for Child Welfare Rajbhavan	-	60
Gandhi Sevashram Iswarlal Sisu Bhawan At/Po Jaleswar	1980-81	75
Yogi Rushi Lachhaman Das Sishu Ashram At/Po Dolasahi	1981-82	50
Maguni Charan Balashram At/Po Mathani	1980-81	25
Satyashree Bapuji Daridra Narayan Seva Sadan At Chandipur Po Mitrapur	1982-83	50

Pabitra Debi Sishu Bhawan, At Chinchida Po Aghirapada	1987-88	75
Utkalmani Daridra Narayan Seva Mandira, At Chandiapada Po Langudi, Via Aranapal	1988-89	50
Krushna Sukuri Kanyashram At/Po Dhobasila	1988-89	25
Samaj Bikash Parishad At Tengaramari Po Jayarampur, Via Bhogorai	1988-89	50
Merrilac Seva Sadan At/Po Balgopalpur	1989-90	100
Mallika Child Welfare Organisation, At Alada Po Kharasahapur	1990-91	25
BOLANGIR		
Children's Home Sonepur c/o H.K.N.S. Bhubaneswar	1974-75	25
CUTTACK		
Servants of India Society At/Po Choudwar	1928-29	100
(a) Utkal Balashram Jajpur Sakha At/Po Jajpur	1944-45	50
(b) Orissa State Council for Child Welfare Raj Bhawan	-	40
Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust At/Po Satyabhamapur	1963-64	50

Swami Bichitrananda Kalyan Ashram At Dagarpada Po Chandinichauk	1963-37	12
(a) Utkal Balashram Cuttack Sakha, At Nuapada Po Madhupatna, Cuttack-10	1949-50	100
(b) Orissa State Council for Child Welfare Raj Bhawan	-	40
Pallisri Mahila Samiti At/Po Korua Via Tendakuda	1966-67	75
Sisu Ashram At/Po Jagatsinghpur	1976-77	25
International Indencency Prevention Movement Bidanasi (Sovaniyanagar) Cuttack	1988-89	50
*Bhasundhara (two homes) Khalasi Lane Rastrabhasa Road Cuttack-1	1988-89	60
Lutheran Mahila Samiti At/Po Patalipanka Via Kujanga	1989-90	25
Loknayak Club At/Po Banki	1990-91	25
Swapneswar Balashram At Boilo Po Purunahat Via Kishorenagar	1990-91	50
Baldev Jew Sevashram At Nuagaon Po Alkund Nuagaon, Via Pritipur	1990-91	50

DHENKANAL

Maharsi Dayananda Balashram At/Po Mahimagadi	1979-80	100
Children's Home Dhenkanal, c/o H.K.N.S Bhubaneswar	1974-75	50
Athamallik Balashram At/Po Athamallik	1983-84	25
Baji Rout Chatrabas At/Po Angul	1988-89	100

GANJAM

Thakar Bapa Ashram At/Po Nimakhandi	1973-74	100
R.C.M Children's Home for Girls At Babapada Po R. Udayagiri	1974-75	35
R.C.M Balakashram for Boys At/Po Suruda	1971-72	122
R.C.M Balikashram for Girls At/Po Suruda	1971-72	74
Divine Life Society At Khajuria, Po Ramachandrapur Via Chikiti	1976-77	50
Banadevi Seva Sadan At/Po Kabisuryanagar	1978-79	50
(a) Utkal Balashram Berhampur Sakha At/Po Berhampur	1949-50	75
(b) Orissa State Council for Child Welfare Raj Bhawan	-	50

Sribachha Balashram Tanarada, c/o H.K.N.s Bhubaneswar	1974-75	50
KALAHANDI		
Nehru Seva Sangha At/Po Bhawanipatna	1957-58	100
Prachina Bharatiya Vidya Sabha Gurukula Ashram At/Po Amsena Via Khariar Road	1970-71	75
Indira Nandini Balaniketan At/Po Nuapada	1974-75	35
Banabasi Seva Samiti Baliguda, Distr. Phulbani Donguriguda Branch At Dongurguda Po Deypur Via Bhawanipatna	1990-91	50
KEONJHAR		
Manoja Manjari Sisu Bhawan At/Po Keonjhar	1973-74	100
Bishnupriya Balashram At Chenapadi Via Basantia	1988-89	50
Institute of Social Welfare and Advancement for Rural Development At/Po Ukhunda	1990-91	25
KORAPUT		
Sarvodaya Samiti At/Po Gandhinagar	1969-70	50
Seva Samaj At/Po Gunupur	1964-65	81
Pedavalda Gramadani Sangha At/Po Pedavalda Via Bandhuagaon	1974-75	25

Children's Home, Jeypore C/o H.K.N.S Bhubaneswar	1974-75	25
Seva Samaj At/Po Rayagada	1964-65	50
Balniketan At/Po Gunupur	1980-81	25
Life Improvement Members' Association Arnapurna Ashis Bhawan At/Po Nowrangpur	1988-89	50
Utkal Balashram Nowrangpur Sakha,c/o Orissa State Council for Child Welfare, Raj Bhawan, BBSR MAYURBHANJ	1988-89	50
Sisu Seva Sadan At/Po Gorumahisani	1980-81	25
Gobabandhu Balashram Baripada c/o H.K.N.S Bhubaneswar	1974-75	25
Biswabandhu Sevak Sangha At Sirakuli Po Khoiri, Joshipur	1980-81	14
Maa Mangala Balashram At Mangalapur Po Chengua Mangalpur	1990-91	25
PHULBANI		
Banabasi Seva Samiti At/Po Baliguda	1973-74	150
Ramakrushna Balashram At/Po Karadi Via Biranarasinghhapur	1978-79	50
Sudhadra Mahatab Seva Sadan At/Po G Udayagiri	1974-75	25

Gopabandhu Children's Home Phulbani c/o H.K.N.S Bhuhaneswar	1974-75	25
R.C.M Sisu Bhawan At/Po Mandasore	1972-74	60
Vikash Paridash At/Po Sarangad	1983-84	25
St Catherine's House At/Po Raikia	1988-89	25
PURI		
Draupadi Mahila Samiti At. Uttarhan Po Basedevpur	1979-80	50
Gopabandhu Children's Home NMangakhat, Puri C/o H.K.N.S Bhubaneswar	1976-77	25
Nehru Seva Sangha At/Po Banapur	1957-58	100
Acharya Harihara Sisu Bhawan At Sakhigopal	1957-58	50
*Satyasai Seva Sangha At Tapoban Po Khandagiri	1977-78	125
*Sakhikand Balniketan At/Po Puri	1955-56	30
Nilachan Seva Pratisthan Dayavihar, Po Kanas	1989-90	100
Anatha Parityakta Balashram At Tikiraipada Po Bandhamundha Via Gopalpur	1990-91	25
SAMBALPUR		
Kasturba Gandhi Matruniketan At/Po Paikmal	1973-74	155

Children's Home, Dhankauda c/o H.K.N.S, Bhubaneswar	1974-75	50
Gramashree Vivekananda Samanwaya Ashram At/Po Banjari, Via Belpahar	1976-77	50
Thakar Bapa Seva Sadan	1990-91	25
SUNDARGARH		
Banabasi Vidya Sabha At/Po Vedvyas, Rourkela	1967-68	100
Children's Home, Basanti Colony Rourkela c/o H.K.N.S, BBSR	1974-75	25
Sisu Seva Asram, At Deobhubanpur Po Rasti Via Balisankara	1983-84	25
Rourkela Sisu Bhawan Ar Pradhan Palli 'Quarry Siding) Rourkela	1988-89	25
TOTAL:		5303

(We have visited those marked with *.)

Nursaries for motherless children, run by Sisters of Charity:

GOPALPUR:	Sacred Heart Home Daughters of Charity Po Godalpur-on-Sea 761002 Ganjam (dist) Orissa
RAIKA:	St Catherine's House Daughters of Charity Po Raika 762101 Phulbani (dist) Orissa
ALIGONDA:	Nirmala House Daughters of Charity Po Aligonda Via Mohana Ganjam (dist) Orissa

Other Orphanages that we have visited:

SOS Children's Villages of India
Sgn. Ldr.S. Panigrahy (retd.)
Village Director
Khandagiri
Bhubaneswar 751 030
Phone: 40 87 43

Rev. Manohar Pattnaik
Worldwide Faith Mission's Children's Home
Bhubaneswar 751012
Orissa India
Phone: 40 76 78

Unfortunately we lack the adresses to many of the orphanages that do not receive grants-in-aid from the Government.

9 COPY OF APPLICATION FORMS

ANNEXURE-I

APPLICATION FOR ASSISTANCE FOR INSTITUTIONAL SERVICES FOR WELFARE OF DESTITUTE CHILDREN

1. Name of the institution
2. Address
3. Copy of the Constitution and the list of members of the Executive Committee
4. Date of registration under the Societies Registration Act
5. Present capacity of institutional services for children—
   (*a*) Number of children at present served
   (*b*) Number of children proposed to be admitted now
6. Age range of children
7. Boys or girls or mixed
8. Types of children serviced—
   (*a*) Destitute children
   (*b*) Delinquent children committed under court orders
9. Type of Accommodation—
   (*a*) Type of building
   (*b*) Average floor area allowed to each child for sleeping
   (*c*) Whether cots are used or the children sleep on floor
10. Nature of services offered—
   (*a*) Boarding
   (*b*) Education
   (*c*) Vocational Training
   (*d*) Recreation
   (*e*) Case Work services
   (*f*) Medical ; and
   (*g*) Other services—nature of rehabilitation services
11. Approach to organisation of services—
   (*a*) Through dormitories
   (*b*) Cottage system
12. Nature of personnel employed and their training—
   (*a*) House Mothers
   (*b*) Dormitory in-charge

(*c*) Cook and helper

(*d*) General Education Teachers

(*e*) Vocational Instructors

(*f*) Case Workers (state qualification and experience)

(*g*) Recreation Workers

(*h*) Medical Officer (Part-time)

(*i*) Superintendent (state qualification and experience)

(*j*) Any other

13. (*a*) Existing level of recurring expenditure per child per month for various items like food, clothing, bedding, health check-up and medicine, education (including books, stationery, etc.) vocational training, recreation, etc.

(*b*) Rent for accommodation (per child per month)

14. Expenditure on salaries of personnel

15. Nature of supervision (by paid or voluntary personnel)

16. Capacity of expansion of services :

(*a*) Is accommodation available for taking more children

(*b*) Number of additional children that could be provided with services

17. Assistance received by the organisation during last year from :

(*a*) Central Government

(*b*) State Government

(*c*) Central Social Welfare Board

(*d*) State Social Welfare Advisory Board

(*e*) Private Donations

(*f*) Any other source (specify)

18. Copy of the audited statement of accounts for the last financial year. Also state the average number of children present per month during the year.

19. Assistance now sought for taking care of additional children :

(*a*) Recurring assistance

(*b*) Initial non-recurring assistance

(*c*) Building

20. Amount to be contributed by the organisation

21. Any other information

ANNEXURE-II

APPLICATION FOR RENEWAL OF GRANT FOR ORPHANAGE FOR THE YEAR.....

1. Name and address of the institution
2. Amount of grant received last year;

   (*a*) State Government

   (*b*) Government of India

   (*c*) Any other source; (Specify)

   Total

3. Date of submitting Utilisation Certificate (Utilisation Certificate may be submitted alongwith this application).
4. Number of children in the orphanage
5. Give details of the staff employed with their salary.
6. Amount of grant applied for

Certified that the statements above are true to the best of my knowledge and that the institution is eligible for assistance under the Orissa Maintenance of Orphanages Rules, 1985.

Date.....

President/Secretary
of the Institution.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE ENQUIRING OFFICER

I have personally visited the institution. My observation are as follows :—

I recommend an assistance of Rs.....(Rupees.....)only for the year.....

or

I do not recommend any assistance to the institution

Signature

Disignation

Date

viii

ANNEXURE VII

REGISTER OF INMATES

1. Sl. No.

2. Name of the child

3. Sex and age

4. Name of the father/guardian (if known)

5. Home Address

6. Date of admission

7. Class in which he/she is studying

8. Does he/she receive any Vocational Training ? If so, specify.

9. Date of discharge

10. Details of academic qualification and training acquired at the time of discharge.

11. Reason for discharge

12. Remarks

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